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THE GEOGRAPHICAL REVIEW

VOL. I

MAY, 1916

No. 5

A NEW LEWIS AND CLARK MAP

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[With facsimile map, Pl. II, facing p. 344]

The possible—and, one might easily add, the almost inevitable—recovery of historical sources, even though they be lost for many years, finds no better illustration than in connection with the records of the great Lewis and Clark exploring expedition of 1804 to 1806. It is well known that President Jefferson, in making arrangements for that expedition, was insistent that careful and complete records of it, in detail, should be kept, and they were kept, yet Jefferson's purpose failed of logical fulfillment by reason of the fact that, in his time, they were never brought all together into one place and published. On the contrary, they became widely scattered, and some of them have never to this day been traced. In recent years, however, important finds have been made and reported. For example, when, in 1905, R. G. Thwaites published his excellent edition of such of the original journals as were then known for a certainty to exist, he had occasion to record the circumstances of the recovery of some of them, notably the Whitehouse diary. Last summer his eminent successor, Milo M. Quaife, had a similar task to perform,¹ he having, with the aid of others, relocated the long-lost Ordway narrative, which is shortly to appear in print under his editorship.²

Such recoveries as those of Thwaites and Quaife called, of course, the attention of historical scholars to the existence of various repositories of Lewis and Clark data and offered the suggestion that more might yet be

¹ Cf. *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1915, pp. 108-109.

² After this study had been thoroughly well entered upon, it developed that Mr. Quaife, having heard that a Lewis and Clark map had been found in the U. S. Indian Office, had hopes of being able to reproduce it in conjunction with the Ordway Journal. The study was not abandoned, however, mainly for the reason that the Indian Office authorities wished it to proceed and were decidedly averse to having the map advertised as a Lewis and Clark map until after its identity had been satisfactorily established. Moreover, the present investigator felt that, since even a cursory examination showed the map to be a very valuable one historically, it was deserving of a more extended, specific, and individual treatment than it could possibly get were it to appear with the Ordway Journal, particularly as that was already in the hands of the printer.

found, and, as a matter of fact, another has been found and that within the last few months. The new repository is the U. S. Indian Office and, considering that Clark was for so large a part of his life in direct connection with that office, the wonder is that special students of the Lewis and Clark expedition never thought of it as a possibility before.

The particular way in which the Indian Office is already proved to be a repository of Lewis and Clark data is in its possession of a manuscript map that has recently come to light among its archives. This map, upon examination, reveals itself to be of such a character that it seems safe to contend that it must assuredly have constituted a very useful portion of the original Lewis and Clark equipment and is certainly not a thing heretofore noted by either collectors or editors.

The map was found by H. M. Hamblin, M.D., a clerk in the Mails and Files Division of the Office of Indian Affairs, among some old Central Superintendency "Accounts."³ It was enclosed with other maps and sketches⁴—all presumably once of Clark ownership⁵—in a wrapper,

³ "Accounts," it should be explained, include, in Indian Office filing, "Estimates," "Property Returns," "Vouchers," and the like.

⁴ The contents comprised:—

a. A tracing showing the Mississippi, the Missouri for a short distance above the Kansas, Lakes Michigan, Superior, and Winnipeg, and then the country onwards to the Pacific. Towards the south appear the "sources of Rio Norte according to De Lisle."

b. A rough sketch showing the Mississippi River from its junction with the Ohio to a little below Memphis. On the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Ohio, is "Spanish Guard," where customs were collected. Lower down is Fort Jefferson.

c. A rough sketch showing the Mississippi River from the Louisiana line, latitude 33° N., to Rock River and giving various Indian boundaries. The Cherokees are shown as living west of the Mississippi.

d. A rough sketch of "Chipaway and Sioux Lines," showing Fort Snelling and a Sauk River encampment "after the peace made at St. Peters 1821."

e. A rough sketch showing a part of the Kaw and Osage cessions of 1808 and 1825, with Fort Osage near Fire Prairie and Cantonment Gibson located.

f. A rough sketch illustrative of certain phases of the Black Hawk War. Memoranda on the back indicate the whereabouts of "Coles party" upon information furnished by Mr. Forsyth (Agent Thomas Forsyth?) and give a list of "good" chiefs and one of "bad." At the top appears the name, "Frances Lesseur."

g. A plat of the survey of the Ioway and Sauk lands by W. S. Donohoe, surveyor, 1837.

h. A plan of fortifications, indeterminate.

i. A copy of a contemporary map with added details.

j. A census map of the region of the "Bend of the Missouri, Long. 101° 25'—Lat. 47° 32' by Mr. Thomson . . . in 1798." On the outside of the map is written, "A sketch of the North Bend of the Missouri. This belongs to Cap^t Lewis."

k. An incomplete tracing of the Missouri and Platte Rivers on a scale of 50 miles to the inch.

l. A "Sketch given by George Drewyer, 5th August, 1808," indicating "the road to the Spanish settlements" and the "supposed" waters of the "Gulph of California," also the "establishment made by Manuel Lisa in October 1807" with the information communicated, apparently in Clark's handwriting, that "from this establishment a man on horseback can travel to the Spanish country in 14 days—" (for corroborative testimony on this point, see Coues's citation of Clark N125 in "History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark," Vol. 3, p. 1153, note 14.) In connection with the Manuel Lisa establishment, it is interesting to observe that Drewyer placed it where one of the Clark maps (*cf.* Coues, Vol. 4, No. 2) placed it; that is, right in the fork of the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers. It will be noted that Chittenden, contrariwise, placed it on the east bank of the Big Horn and the south bank of the Yellowstone (*cf.* "History of the Fur Trade of the Far West," Vol. 3, map). He further described it as "on the west bank of the river—just above latitude 46° N." (*ibid.*, p. 956). Apparently Chittenden confounded its location with the site of the Clark camp, July 26, 1806 (*cf.* "Original Journals," Vol. 5, p. 296, and Vol. 8, map, No. 51).

⁵ This is inferred from the fact that they all date from the period and relate to the region of Clark's official activities.

bearing the following vaguely identifying superscription, or endorsement:

Retained⁶
Central Superin⁷
 Maps &c
 of
Indian Country

The particular bundle of "Accounts" in which it was had no distinguishing marks, no special label, no office brief, no file notation.⁷ In short, it had nothing whatever about it that would differentiate it from a thousand or more other such bundles or that would indicate ever so slightly how exceedingly interesting, not to say especially valuable, some of its contents might possibly be. Had it not happened, forsooth, to be the business of Dr. Hamblin to sort the "Accounts," the richly detailed Clark map, subject of this investigation and discussion, might easily have been consigned to oblivion for another hundred years or lost altogether, accidentally burnt,⁸ or even destroyed,⁹ perchance, under authority of the next Executive Order, the issue of which might at any time be rendered necessary by the pressure of current business and the congested state of the Indian Office quarters.

An attempt to identify the Indian Office map gave rise to several conjectures, some fundamental, represented by the following and other interrogatories:

1. Is it a map illustrative of the Lewis and Clark expedition?
2. Was it made subsequent to the expedition?
3. Was it made during the expedition?
4. Was it made anterior to the expedition?
5. If made before the expedition, is it,
 - a. The Mackay map?
 - b. The Evans map?
 - c. A composite itinerary map?
6. What is its geographical and historical value?

⁶ Clark's letter to Biddle, January 27, 1818, reproduced in facsimile in Coues, Vol. 1, would indicate that Clark was of the opinion that he had a perfect right to hold back at discretion anything bearing upon the expedition that was not of strictly scientific value and that, under no circumstances, did he entirely relinquish certain possessory rights in the data. This may account for the Indian Office map's not being with the rest of the Clark data. In other words, the "retained" on the wrapper is significant. It implies that the map was not left at the headquarters of the Central Superintendency by accident.

⁷ Agency and Superintendency papers, sent in from the field, after an office is discontinued or changed in location, bear, of course, no file-marks. They are only indirectly a part of the Indian Office records and are not so well looked after as even the regular files.

⁸ The particular "Accounts" in which the map was found were and are stored in the basement of the Pension Building in close proximity to the furnace. So cramped is the Indian Office at present that there is really no other place for them.

⁹ Under comparatively recent Congressional enactment, no government records can be destroyed until they have first been submitted to a competent authority in the Library of Congress in order that their historical value or lack of value may be determined. In practice, the departments submit a list of the

Considering these questions in their order, we can begin by answering the first of them in this wise: The map is most certainly illustrative of so much of the Lewis and Clark expedition as extended from the point of beginning, St. Charles, to the Mandan villages. The proof of this is found chiefly in the fact that all places of importance, mentioned in any of the travel narratives descriptive of the expedition, are marked upon the map as well as at least one thing¹⁰ that the explorers heard about in the course of their voyage up the Missouri River and incidentally commented upon. Moreover, the map itself bears this endorsement (Fig. 1):¹¹

For Captⁿ William Clark
or
Captⁿ Meriwether Lewis
a
on their voyage up the
Mississippi.

The only noteworthy expedition that Lewis and Clark ever made together was the famous one of 1804-1806. The name "Mississippi" must have been accidentally inserted in the endorsement instead of that of "Missouri"; for the map is not in any sense illustrative of the Mississippi region and it is of the Missouri. It is worth noting, however, that the same confounding of the Mississippi with the Missouri occurs in the Jefferson correspondence bearing upon the great expeditions.

The Indian Office map appears not to have been made subsequent to the expedition, at all events, not in its entirety and not in its main portion; for, although, as will be conclusively proved before this study is done, it carries more of the journal geographical detail than any known map of the time, it varies from the journals in certain marked ways, or, more specifically speaking, it does not accord closely enough with them to have been made

papers set aside for destruction, and occasionally that list is so non-committal that it is returned for more specific detail. Neither the ordinary list nor the additional description would ever have saved the Lewis and Clark map from destruction. How it came to be among "Accounts" is a mystery; for "Accounts," properly speaking, are regular Indian Office records, and the bundle in which the map was belonged to Superintendency records. Its being among "Accounts" made its situation all the more precarious. "Accounts" figure in duplicate, and the Indian Office has frequently gone upon the supposition that since the originals are in existence anyway, lodged with the Treasury Department, the duplicates among its files may well be the first things to be disposed of when more room is needed—and it is even now urgently needed—for current business.

¹⁰ "Mr. Louisells House in the Winter 1803 & 4"

¹¹ The endorsement is on the back of the map and is reproduced here as it is in the original. Another thing on the back of the map may possibly be an additional means of identification. It is the name of "Peter Tabeau." The name appears written first in pencil, thus:—Mr. Peter Tabeau, and then in ink, thus (Fig. 2):—

Mr. Peter Tabeau
at the Ricaries.

In the journals there are various references to a Mr. Tabo, or Tabeau. Thwaites, in his index to the "Original Journals," mentions only one Tabeau and that one bears the Christian name of "Antoine"; but, in the text of the narratives, the mention is usually of "Mr." Tabo, or Tabeau. Antoine is referred to directly in one instance only, which might imply that wherever else a Tabeau is noted some other one than Antoine, or Anty, is meant. Such a supposition would permit of a place for Peter. The Tabeau of the journals, whatever his Christian name may have been, is always found associated with the Arikara Indians (Ricaries).

For Capt^l William Clark
or
Capt^l Meriwether Lewis
on ~~the~~ voyage up the
Mississippi

FIG. 1.

Mr. Peter Labaree
at the Academy

FIG. 2.

FIG. 1—Endorsement on the back of the newly discovered Lewis and Clark map.

FIG. 2—Additional entry on the back of the map.

from them. And it is not in any way related to the Lewis 1806 map,¹² which we know to have been compiled from the travelers' data.

A close scrutiny of the discrepancies between the journals and the Indian Office map strengthens the opinion that not only was the map not made subsequent to the expedition, but it was not even made during the expedition. The very differences are of such a nature that they attest the fact that the map antedates all the written records. Neither names assigned to newly discovered places—that is, places noted for the first time by these explorers—, nor new names assigned to places previously known appear on it, as is sufficiently instanced in the cases of “Independence Creek,”¹³ discovered July 4th, 1804, “Council Bluffs,”¹⁴ in the vicinity of which the explorers held a council with the Indians, “Floyd’s River,”¹⁵ named after Sergeant Floyd of the expedition, who died August 20th, 1804, and the “Teton River,”¹⁶ rechristened because the Teton Sioux were found dwelling in its neighborhood. Furthermore, some few things that Lewis and Clark had heard about but which they were obliged to record in their journals as not having been found, notably, “the old fort”¹⁷ on the Missouri River, above its junction with the Grand, and “the old volcano,”¹⁸ southward of the mouth of the White, have, on the Indian Office map, a rather conspicuous position, as have also many places that either are not referred to in the least by the journals or are referred to under other names.¹⁹ Quite interestingly, too, an occasional item of the map data is incorrect when judged by the journals.²⁰ Finally,

¹² Conveniently to be found in Coues.

¹³ “... as this Creek has no name, and this being the 4th of July the day of the independence of the U. S. call it 4th of July 1804 Creek, ... this Creek we call *Creek Independence* . . .” (Thwaites, Vol. 1, pp. 66-67). “... passed a creek . . . which we called INDEPENDENCE . . .” (Hosmer’s “Gass,” p. 11).

¹⁴ “The situation of our last Camp *Council Bluff* . . .” (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 98).

“*Thursday 2nd* . . . This place we named Council-Bluff . . .” (Hosmer’s “Gass,” p. 17).

“... 12 of the Zottoe Indians Arriv^d at Our Camp Call^d the Council Bluffs, or the Brarareham prairie . . .” (“Whitehouse’s Journal,” p. 47).

¹⁵ “... We buried him (Floyd) on the top of the bluff $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile below a Small river to which we Gave his name . . .” (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 114).

“... Our commanding officers gave it the name of Floyd’s river; . . .” (Hosmer’s “Gass,” p. 21).

“... we named this hill Sg^t Floyd’s Bluff we then proceeded on to a Creek on the Same Side which we named Sg^t Floyds Creek” (“Whitehouse’s Journal,” p. 51).

¹⁶ “... Came to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles above off the Mouth of a Small river about 70 yards wide Called by Mr. Evens the Little Mississou [*Missouri*] River. The Tribes of the Seaux Called the Teton, is Camped about 2 Miles up on the N. W. Side, and we Shall Call the River after that Nation, *Teton* . . .” (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 163).

¹⁷ “... we came to on the S. S. in a Prairie at the place where M^r Mackey lais down a old french fort, . . .” (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 50).

¹⁸ “... I walked on Shore with a view to find an old Vulcanoe, Said to be in this neighbourhood by M^r J. McKey of S^t Charles. I walked on Shore the whole day without Seeing any appearance of the Vulcanoe . . .” (Thwaites, Vol. 1, pp. 146-147).

¹⁹ The most prominent of these are: Renville River, probably what the explorers called the Whitestone (cf. Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 119; Coues, Vol. 1, p. 84; Whitehouse, p. 52; Gass, p. 22), or the present Vermilion, and Old Englishman’s Island. Some of less significance are: Tobacco Island, Five Barrels Island, Iron Island, Peter’s Island, Good Island, the Four Islands, Buffalo Island, Little Island, Isle of the Sioux, Polecat Island (apparently in the neighborhood of the place where the explorers say they found pole-cats, September 17, 1804), Half-moon Island, Little Missouri Island, Friendship Island, Cock Island.

²⁰ Some of these will be noted presently in another connection; but the discrepancy involved in the location of Cock Island (I. au Coc) may as well be disposed of here. Cock Island appears on the map a considerable distance above the mouth of the Maropa River; but the only thing mentioned in the travel narratives that would correspond to it is Grouse Island, and Grouse Island was passed by Lewis and Clark

innumerable small creeks and islands and a few other things,²¹ noted by the explorers, and some of them expressly named²² by them, are not on the map at all.

In addition to what has already been said answering negatively the third question in our scheme of conjecture, Was the map made while the expedition was in progress? these facts can be adduced: The paper is too thin and the chirography too regular and too elegant, the lines of writing are, as a rule, too uniformly parallel to warrant the supposition that the map was made, from start to finish, under the rough conditions incident to travel. It might, indeed, be thought from the appearance of the map that it was not even taken upon the voyage. It shows so few signs of really hard usage. It is true it is very brittle now, so brittle and worn that it will scarcely bear handling. The brittleness, however, is simply a sign of age, perhaps, also, the result of folding²³ and of exposure to intense heat.

That the map was taken upon the expedition and used and consulted may be readily surmised from an examination of certain interesting additions to its data, additions made under circumstances no more conducive to neat work than most likely were those connected with the voyage of 1804. The extreme northwestern section of the map, that depicting the region, say, between the White River and the Mandan villages, has every appearance of having been checked up by means of underscoring lines.²⁴ Not too much need be made of the circumstance, however, since the check marks occur only at rare intervals, and, all told, are exceedingly few in number. It is just as if the explorers treasured their map too highly to care to deface it.²⁵ In the same upper portion of the map occurs material that may or may

after they had passed the Sur-war-kar-na and before they had come to the We-tar-hoo, much less to the Maropa (*cf.* Thwaites: *Original Journals*, Vol. 1, pp. 182-183). Cases where an island and a creek in close proximity to each other carry the same name, the one being on the map and the other in the journals, are not regarded, in this study, as mistakes or discrepancies. We have, for instance, an I. au Bonhomme on the map, a Bonum Creek in the journal; a R. a la L'outre on the map, a Luter Island in the journal, and so on. There is, on the map, a small unnamed stream opposite I. au Bonhomme and an island opposite R. a la L'outre.

²¹ A few of these are: Island of Mills (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 43), Shecco Island (*ibid.*, p. 45), Plumb Creek (*ibid.*, p. 46), Tabboe Creek, Tiger River, Panther Isle (*ibid.*, p. 52), Hay Cabbin Creek (*ibid.*, p. 57), Chabonea Creek, Bennet's Creek (*ibid.*, p. 58), Dimond Island, Biscuit Creek, Tree Frog Island, Tree Frog Creek (*ibid.*, p. 63), Four le tourtere Prarie (*ibid.*, p. 83), Lake Despree (*ibid.*, p. 103), Black Bird's grave (*ibid.*, p. 106), Mahars Wau can di Peeche Creek (*ibid.*, p. 107), Good Humered Island (*ibid.*, p. 163), etc.

²² Cupboard Creek, Nightingale Creek (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 38), Lead Creek, Sand Creek (*ibid.*, p. 40), Indian Knob Creek (*ibid.*, p. 92), No Preserves Island (*ibid.*, p. 140), Corvus Creek (*ibid.*, p. 150), Sentinal Creek, Lookout Creek (*ibid.*, p. 175), Island of Caution (*ibid.*, p. 177), etc.

²³ It had been folded into small compass and, when found, was cracked and broken at the seams. An unwise attempt to repair such damage resulted in worse. As a matter of fact, the frail paper should have been immediately mounted upon linen or something equally broad and stable.

²⁴ R. petit Missouri is underscored; so is an unnamed right tributary farther upstream, so also are the Maropa River, Labeaume's River, and various of the Indian village groups. I have taken the unnamed river of the map to be the We tar hoo of the journals (*cf.* Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 183), described as heading in the Black Hills, which, on the map, it does.

²⁵ There is some reason for thinking that the explorers guarded and handled their map so carefully that they did not consult it on every possible occasion. Had they done so, they would most certainly have remarked the fact that the river they note as known by the name of Whitestone was labeled on the map the Renville. This they did not do.

not be new. It consists of legends crowded in,²⁶ forcing a departure from the original parallel appearance of the lines of writing. The chief objection to considering this matter new is the fact that the legends are in both French and English. Lewis and Clark, as will be argued more at length later on, could have had no good reason for inserting into the detail of a map already crowded the French equivalents of insignificant place names. Most of the additions, if additions they be, inclusive of the underscoring lines, were made in lead pencil.²⁷ Some were later inked over,²⁸ others left in penciled form.²⁹ A few additions,³⁰ occurring at the top of the map, were written in the first instance with ink and are taken to be additions because the penmanship is large and sprawling, quite different in general character from that of the bulk of the map. They include names like St.

²⁶ I am not at all prepared to insist or even to claim that this seemingly crowded-in material is new. It has the appearance of having been written with the same quill and by the same hand and to have been inked at the same time as the bulk of the map. Moreover, I am puzzled by the fact that Good Hope Island, which the explorers introduced (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 179) by the familiar, "we call", is not crowded in and is not in a different handwriting and has its French equivalent, I. bonne Esperance, immediately below itself on the map. It is barely possible, of course, that in this case Lewis and Clark erroneously but inadvertently claimed the credit of having done the christening. On the western side of the Missouri River and nearly opposite the mouth of the Otter River is a large stream designated simply "Riviere" on the map. In location it exactly corresponds to the Sur-war-kar-na of the journals and, as Lewis says in his notes (Thwaites, Vol. 6, p. 49), it "takes its rise short of the Black Hills . . ." The writing of the word "Riviere" is fine and regular, the *e* differently shaped from the usual *e* of the map. Is it fair to conclude, then, that the person who attempted to add the name stopped short at "Riviere" because he could not spell the Indian Sur-war-kar-na? Other instances of the kind are not entirely wanting, as for example, "Prairie du", "Prairie," "I-& village".

²⁷ The skeleton of the entire map seems to have been traced originally in pencil.

²⁸ As for instance, "Mr Louisells House in the Winter 1803&4" and "50 Leagues to the Mouth of the Missouri", the latter legend being written on what I have chosen to regard as an extended portion of the map and, therefore, new. The part referred to is unmistakably an extension and in no sense a part of the original drawing, it being very plainly discernible where the work of one cartographer ended and that of another began. The extension is drawn on approximately the same scale as the remainder of the map. It reaches from and beyond the Mandan villages, perhaps in order to make a proper connection with the Yellowstone and was very probably put in after Clark had returned to the Mandan villages by way of the Yellowstone.

²⁹ Some of these I cannot satisfactorily decipher. An extremely faint legend beyond the Black Hills I at first thought might possibly be meant for "Jon Vallie," and the journals tell us that the travelers did fall in with a Frenchman of that name (the Jean Vallé of Thwaites's suggestion), who informed them "that he wintered last winter 300 Leagues up the Chien River under the Black mountains . . ." (Thwaites, Vol. 1, p. 176); but I have since changed my mind. Two of the penciled names that I can decipher are "Yellow Stone R." and "Fork River." "Fork River" is written alongside of "Dog River" (R. du Chien), but upside down, a circumstance which supports the contention that penciled names are new. "Yellow Stone River" and "Black Mountains" had no pencil foundation: but "Black Hills" is found written near the margin, in pencil. Some writing on the upper waters of the James River has been rendered a trifle more clear by the photostatic process but is not yet clear enough to be confidently interpreted.

³⁰ My supposition is that these additions were made by the explorers to indicate the "headings" of rivers. Again and again they tell us of what they have learned about the sources of some of the rivers they pass or of such and such a river "heading" in a certain locality or at some approximate distance. Thus, on June 13, 1804, they record that the Grand River "heads with the R. Dumoine," and the map suggests it. Under date of August 29, 1804, the river James (Jacques, or Yankton) is described as passing the Sioux River and as heading with the St. Peters. On the map, the James River (R. a Jacques) parallels an improvised Big Soox, rising beyond it to the north, and receives a tributary from the direction of the Red River of the North, also improvised. On the 13th of October, Lewis and Clark learned from the Rickores (Arickaras) "that the Yankton or R. Jacques heads at about 2 Days March of this place Easterly, the R. de Seaux one Day further, the Chien (*Chayenne the Chay^s formerly there*) a branch of R. Rouche (*Rouge*) Still beyond, and the River *St. Peters* 4 days march from this place on the Same Derection . . ." On the map, again, the "Riviere" appears to rise in the first range of the Black Hills and to that Clark bears testimony under date of October 7th.

Peters, Demoin, Big Soox, and Camerons House. It took some little time to decipher the name last given, the map being defective and the writing scarcely more than a mere scratch of the pen. Reference to Lewis' notes, however, revealed³¹ the fact that a trader of the name of Cameron³² had been heard of as having his headquarters in the region, and a photostatic copy of the map disclosed, much more clearly than did the original, the legend, "Camerons House."

The addition that is a really worth while contribution is something that has been already cited twice in the footnotes, namely, "Mr Louisells House in the Winter 1803 & 4." This legend is in the near vicinity of "Island of the Three Sisters" (Les I. de 3 Soeurs) and "Goat Island" (I. au Cabris). It is written upside down. The history of its insertion may be suggestively traced by means of journal entries. When Lewis and Clark were in the neighborhood of River a Chouritte, May 25, 1804, they record³³ that they "met with M. Louisell, imedeately down from the Seeder [Cedar] Isl^d Situated in the Country of the Sciox [Sioux] 400 Leagues up . . ." and that Mr. Louisell gave them "a good Deel of Information . . ." Very probably he told them of the location of his own trading house. Anyway, on the twenty-second of September, after they had passed an island, "Called the 3 Sisters," they came to one, "Called Ceder Island," and this is what they have to say about it: "this Island is about 1½ miles long & nearly as wide Covered with Ceder, on the South Side of this Island Mr. Louiselle a trader from St^t Louis built a fort of Ceder & a good house to trade with the Seaux & Wintered last winter: . . ."³⁴ After taking careful note of Louisell's fort,³⁵ they "proceeded on and Camp^d late on the S. Side below a Small Island in the bend S. S. Called Goat Island, . . ."³⁶ It is interesting to observe that map and journal, with Clark as the writer of the one particular entry³⁷ and Lewis of the other,³⁸ spell the trader's name in exactly the same way. Lewis, it is true, adds a final *e*; but that need not be deemed significant, because the spelling of the journals varies to a remarkable degree and

³¹ "... The Sioux annually hold a fair on some part of this river (James), in the latter end of May, thither the Yanktons of the North, and the Sissitons, who trade with a M^r Cammaron on the head of the St^t Peters river, bring . . ." (Thwaites: Original Journals, Vol. 6, p. 45).

³² Undoubtedly the same as the Cameron of the Journals ("Original Journals," Vol. 1, p. 267) and the Murdoch Cameron who, in 1805, was a trader on the St. Peters in Minnesota. (Cf. Coues: New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Vol. 1, p. 189, note 8. See also Coues: The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike, Vol. 1, p. 66 and note, p. 64. Pike calls Murdock Cameron "a Scotchman by birth, but an Englishman by prejudice," *ibid.*, p. 64).

There were several men of the name of Cameron connected with the Northwest Company (cf. Masson, Vol. 2, p. 231, and Coues: New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, Vol. 1, p. 189, note 8). For additional information about Murdoch Cameron, see Neill's article on "Indian Trade" in *Minnesota Hist. Soc. Annals*, 1852, p. 43.

³³ Thwaites: Original Journals, Vol. 1, p. 29.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³⁵ Gass gives a minute description of the fort, including its dimensions, which would indicate that it was carefully examined by at least some of the party.

³⁶ Thwaites: Original Journals, Vol. 1, p. 161.

³⁷ May 25, 1804.

³⁸ September 22, 1804.

even in the same sentence. Gass spells³⁹ the name "Lucelle," and it was ordinarily spelled "Loisel."⁴⁰

The similarity in spelling that has just been noted is all the more worthy of remark, because, ordinarily, the spelling of what, for the sake of argument if for nothing else, we have chosen to regard as the older part of the map is most emphatically not the spelling of the journals.⁴¹ The map almost invariably presents the French place-name and its English equivalent, or what is intended⁴² to be an English⁴³ equivalent, and the use of the two languages gives color to the view—particularly as the French is the original⁴⁴ and the English the translation—that the map was most certainly not made during the expedition or afterwards. The explorers were Americans using the English language as their native tongue. They could have had no reason for jotting down, first hand and systematically, the French name for even tiny creeks, notwithstanding the fact that some of their employees were Frenchmen and that they were constantly coming across Indians to whom the French language had become as familiar as their own. Besides, the map data that, for other reasons, seem to be new, do not, in a single instance, have a strictly French form. The journals sometimes give the French name but they always give it as additional or explanatory information, except in cases where the French name must have been the only one known and used. Discrepancies in spelling are often to be accounted for by the varying use of French and English or by a very limited knowledge of the former. They are not such as would preclude the idea that the map was in the hands⁴⁵ of the explorers for, at the least, occasional consultation, but they would contradict the notion that the legends on the map were written either at the same time as or from the journals.

³⁹ Cf. Hosmer's "Gass's Journal," p. 35.

⁴⁰ For instances of such spelling, see the report of Régis Loisel, signed by himself, dated San Luis de Ylinoá, May 28, 1804, published in Houck's "Spanish Régime in Missouri," Vol. 2, pp. 359-364, also Billon's "St. Louis in the Early Days," p. 465; and a Clark memorandum (Thwaites, Vol. 6, p. 59).

⁴¹ This statement should be modified to some extent, for quite often the spelling of names, enclosed by parentheses or by brackets, is the spelling. For Thwaites's explanation of enclosed matter see "Original Journals," Vol. 1, p. 11, note 1. Moreover, *antient* is used on the map and in Clark's contribution to the travel narratives, which is a rather interesting coincidence, if it is nothing more.

⁴² Sometimes the equivalents are what one might call the approximate or the obvious rather than the exact translations. Thus, "Isles des Parques" is rendered "Field Islands"; "I. au Cabris," "Goat Island"; "I. au biche," "Elk Island"; "Isle au boeuf," in one place, "Beef Island," in another, "Buffaloe Island"; "I. de periche," is "Peter's Island."

⁴³ In one instance we have an attempted French equivalent, and, at the same time, perhaps, an interesting case of folk etymology. The present Cannon Ball River is labeled "R. a la Bomb, Labeaume's River." The river was very likely named in honor of Louis Labeaume (Labeaume) (cf. Houck's "Spanish Régime in Missouri," Vol. 2, p. 299; American State Papers: Public Lands, Vol. 3, p. 699). The name would literally mean "balm"; but the spelling Labeaume would indicate the pronunciation and explain, in a measure, the supposed equivalent.

⁴⁴ There seems no good reason to doubt this. The French has always the right of way on the map. It is the one written first and the one that has the greater amount of room given it. Yet I would not have it thought that I incline to the opinion that the English was added later. Both the English and the French appear to be the work of one draftsman.

⁴⁵ It seems a little strange that, if the explorers did have the map before them, they did not see fit to comment upon some of its peculiarities. Why, for example, did they not mention in their journals Labadie's Island, Lapensee's Channel, R. & Chanaille de baton (Cane River and Channel), Premier Poste

It now having been determined that the Indian Office manuscript map could scarcely have been made either during the progress of the Lewis and Clark expedition or subsequent to its completion, inasmuch as map and narrative journals differ too much in terminology and in character of information conveyed for them ever to have been the work of the same mind or minds and of the same period, there remains a consideration of the question whether or no the authorship of the map is to be ascribed to one of two men, James Mackay, a Scotchman, and John Evans, a Welshman, both of whom, in their capacity as agents of the Missouri Company, are believed to have prepared a map illustrative of that particular part of the Missouri River region that they individually explored. Up to date neither map has, for a certainty, been seen since the prosecution of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The organization of the Missouri Company, a commercial concern, having for its object the establishment of trade relations with the great tribes of the Upper Missouri, though begun earlier, was not formally completed until May, 1794. Its headquarters were at St. Louis, and from that point, during the next few years, various exploring expeditions started out. The first was led by Jean Baptiste Truteau. From June 7, 1794, to March 25, 1795, Truteau penetrated a considerable distance up the Missouri in what proved to be a vain search after the Arikaras and, in the summer of 1795, he sojourned about two months among them. His diary, describing the incidents of the first summer,⁴⁶ has recently come to light and bears an interesting

de la Compagnie du Missouri, Riv. & Village des Petite Os, R. du vieux Langlois, and, finally, the most puzzling thing on the map, Riv. à Renville?

As a general thing it can be said that most of the prominent people interested in Indian trade at the time are represented by name upon the Indian Office map. No doubt the expression, "vieux Langlois," ought not to be translated into "old Englishman's," since there were traders of the name (cf. Henry's "Journal," in Coues's edition, Vol. I, p. 50, note). Concerning the Riv. à Renville, some additional remarks might well have a place here. The first letter of the name on the map proved exceedingly difficult of determination. The river, bearing the name, is evidently the Whitestone of the journals and the Vermilion of today. The initial part of the map name might easily pass for *Th*, *K*, or *R*. The resulting name would then be Thenville, Kenville, or Renville; but no such name appears upon any contemporary map that has been, for purposes of this study, accessible, either in the Library of Congress or elsewhere. In travel narratives of the Missouri River region and beyond "Thenville" does not seem to figure at all. "Kenville" does, but out of range of the Vermilion (cf. Coues: *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, Vol. 2, p. 627). A Joseph Renville, on the other hand, was known in the early days on the Upper Missouri. He was probably born about 1726 (cf. Tanguay's "Dictionnaire Généalogique des Familles Canadiennes," Vol. 3) and, at the time of the organization of the Northwest Company, identified himself with it (E. D. Neill: *Indian Trade, Annals Minnesota Hist. Soc.*, 1852, p. 42). This would have doubtless brought him, as it brought Faribault (cf. H. H. Sibley, in *Minnesota Hist. Collections*, Vol. 3, p. 171) into the country of the Yankton Sioux. At all events, he married a Sioux woman. His son, another Joseph Renville, was a Sioux interpreter in the time of Pike (cf. Coues: *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. 1, p. 40, note 46) and was later associated commercially with Dixon, who had a post in the vicinity of the mouth of the Vermilion, hence the name, "Dixon's Bluff" (cf. map published with the Report of I. N. Nicollet, *Senate Doc., 26th Cong., 2nd Sess.*). The region of the Vermilion was originally Sioux country, and it seems more than likely that the father, equally with the son, traded there. The name is variously spelled, even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, Renville or Rainville (*Indian Office Register of Letters Received*, Vol. 28, July 11, 1844, and July 18, 1844).

⁴⁶ This is the so-called first part of Truteau's journal, and it was discovered in the Archives of the Indies at Seville by Roscoe R. Hill. It covers the period from June 7, 1794, to March 25, 1795, and is to be found, in its French form, in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, January, 1914, pp. 301-333. The second part of Truteau's journal, that extending from May 24, 1795, to July 20, 1795, has been known for some time. It appears in translation in the *Missouri Hist. Soc. Collections* for 1912. Strictly speaking, perhaps, it should be counted the third part, since a narrative of the intervening period, from March 25, 1795, to May 24, 1795, is supposed to have been prepared and may be yet in existence somewhere.

comparison with the Indian Office manuscript map. This idea will be enlarged upon later.

In 1795, Mackay was similarly sent up the Missouri, and he explored the river course as far as the Omaha, or Maha, villages.⁴⁷ He was accompanied⁴⁸ by Evans whom, in the year following, he himself authorized⁴⁹ to proceed farther, even to the Mandans. Evans reached his destination in due season and destroyed a British fort, or trading post, erected there.⁵⁰ Of his later movements, little is known. In 1799, Mackay reported him as ill and his system deranged.⁵¹ He probably did not long survive. Mackay, on the other hand, lived for several years, dying in 1823.⁵² He made his home within easy reach of St. Louis, occupied most of the time with matters that involved him in land litigation.

Reference has already been made to a possible Mackay and to a possible Evans map, and the evidence bearing upon each point will now be investigated. That a Mackay map once existed is inferred from a statement⁵³ made by James Mackay himself to the effect that, from a certain voyage of discovery up the Missouri River, he had brought memoirs and a map, and likewise from two⁵⁴ references in the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition. A third⁵⁵ reference is sometimes cited as also testifying to the existence of a Mackay map; but it is of such a nature that it might better imply a conversation than a map, and such a conversation Lewis, if not Clark, could most certainly have had with Mackay on the occasion of one of his frequent trips to St. Louis and vicinity while the expeditionary party was encamped from December to May on the Dubois River.

The proof that there was ever an Evans map is to be found in the correspondence of Jefferson as well as in the journals⁵⁶ of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Jefferson, writing to Lewis, January 13, 1804,⁵⁷ with reference to the preparations being made for the proposed exploration of the Missouri, said, "I now inclose you a map of the Missouri as far as the Mandans, 12 or 1,500 miles I presume above its mouth, it is said to be very accurate having been done by a Mr Evans by order of the Spanish government. . . ."

⁴⁷ See "Report of Governor Zenon Trudeau, 1798," in Houck's "Spanish Régime in Missouri," Vol. 2, p. 253.

⁴⁸ Michaux gives as a journal entry for December 11, 1795, the following: "I was informed at Illinois that Mackey a Scotchman and Even a Welshman, started at the end of July 1795 from St. Louis to ascend the Missouri in a 4 oared Barge. They are aided by a Company whereof Charles Morgan (Jacques Clanmorgan), a creole from the Islands, is manager." (Cf. Thwaites: *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, Vol. 3, pp. 79-80.)

⁴⁹ "Through my fear of arriving late next summer at the Mandans, I am going to send out a detachment within a few days under charge of Monsieur Even, until he meets Trudeau who must have already constructed his fort among the above-mentioned Mandans, if he has experienced no opposition on the part of the English, who have had the audacity to unfurl their banner there." (Cf. Mackay's "Journal" in Houck's "Spanish Régime in Missouri," Vol. 2, p. 192.)

⁵⁰ See Thwaites's *British Régime in Wisconsin*, *Wisconsin Hist. Collections*, Vol. 18, p. 451, note 72.

⁵¹ *American State Papers: Public Lands*, Vol. 6, p. 719.

⁵² See Houck's "History of Missouri," Vol. 2, p. 71, note 145.

⁵³ *American State Papers: Public Lands*, Vol. 6, pp. 718, 720, and Vol. 8, p. 868.

⁵⁴ *Original Journals*, Vols. 1, p. 50, and 6, p. 125.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 147.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 163, 195, 198, 200.

⁵⁷ *Jefferson Papers*, Letter Press Copy Books, Series I, Vol. 10 (1804-1805), No. 1.

Writing again, on the 22nd,⁵⁸ he repeated his message, saying, "... in that of the 13th inst. I inclosed you the map of a Mr Evans, a Welshman employed by the Spanish government for that purpose." Jefferson had previously sent to Lewis extracts⁵⁹ from the journal of Truteau. Later on, he sent a transcript.

It now behooves us to decide the question of the identity of the Indian Office map with the Mackay map. The former shows the Missouri River country to the Mandan villages; but, so far as we know, Mackay never went beyond the recognized territory of the Omahas and Poncas. It is, of course, barely possible that the maps ambiguously attributed severally to Mackay and Evans were a single joint affair, Mackay contributing the data for the lower part and Evans that for the upper.⁶⁰ Jefferson may have been impressed with the idea that it was entirely the work of Evans; because he was chiefly concerned with its farthestmost reach and it was probably matter of common report that Evans had traveled to the Mandans. The map satisfies, with one possible exception, the journal references to both Mackay and Evans, so that they furnish little assistance on this particular point. The map maker, whoever he may have been, had no great mastery of the French language.⁶¹ Nothing is known concerning Evans' knowledge of either French or Spanish; but Mackay's⁶² seems to have been worthy of special comment. Teggart, be it remembered, is of the opinion that the Perrin du Lac map is substantially the same as the Mackay map.⁶³ That being the case, the Indian Office map is certainly not the Mackay map. Both may, perchance, be copies of the same original. They are enough alike to give some support to that view and yet they differ in marked ways.⁶⁴ The Perrin

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 9 (1802-1803), No. 305.

⁶⁰ There is a slight difference in the workmanship of the two parts of the Indian office map, the lower part showing greater wealth of detail.

⁶¹ This is illustrated in a number of ways, as, for instance, in confusion of gender, in ignorance of exact or of fine shades of meaning, and in the use of the article. The following are cases in point:

Rivière à la roche percée, really "Pierced Rock River," is rendered "Split Rock."

Rivière petit Manitou, "Small Great Spirit River," is rendered "Little Conjurer River."

Rivière à flèche, "Arrow River," is rendered "Flint River."

Petite rivière platte, "Little Flat River," is rendered "Little Shoal River."

Rivière au vase is translated as "Muddy River." It would be correct to call the river such, were the expression "Rivière à vase," since *vase*, feminine gender, means "mud." *Vase*, masculine gender, means a "vase."

Isles des Parques is translated, "Field Islands"; but the plural of the French word, signifying the English "park," is *parcs*. *Parques* would be more correctly rendered "the Fates."

I. au cabris offers a case of a singular article and a plural noun.

I. au biche is translated "Elk Island"; but *biche* is a feminine noun and signifies the female deer.

⁶² Houck's "History of Missouri," Vol. 2, p. 70; Teggart's "Notes on Lewis and Clark" in *Rept. Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1908, p. 194 and note *h*.

⁶³ *Rept. Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1908, pp. 188-189.

⁶⁴ The subjoined tabulation is based upon a comparison of the two maps from the Grand River to the point on the Missouri where the Perrin du Lac map data end:

<i>Perrin du Lac Map</i>	<i>Indian Office Map</i>
Wachante ou endroit de serpents.....	Wocanton, ou Endroit des serpents
Anciens villages des	Antient village des Missouri
petits Os et Missouris	Antient vill of the Missouri
	Antient village petits os
	Antient village of the little Osages
vieux Fort.....	Vieux fort
Marais des apaques.....	marais des apaques
	flag Pond

du Lac map⁶⁵ does not satisfy all the journal references; but it does give, as the Indian Office map does not, the Mackay route of 1796. It is faulty in its use of French, as is the other. Both call a certain thing, Marais des apaques, which the Indian Office map translates as Flag Pond; but, while the Perrin du Lac map offers *ancien* for "old" or "former," the Indian Office map offers the incorrect, or at least unusual, *antient* of the journals. Conversely, be it said the Nichinibatone of the Perrin du Lac map more nearly approaches the Neesh-nah-ba-to-na of the journals and of today than does the "R. & Chanaille de baton" of the other map.

That the Indian Office map is the map that, under the name of the Evans map, was transmitted to Lewis by Jefferson is the most satisfactory conclusion reached by the author of this article. It is not contended that it is the identical map that Evans may have made. Jefferson is really the only authority for the supposition that Evans personally ever made a map, and, as intimated before, the map that goes under the name of the Evans map,

<i>Perrin du Lac Map</i>	<i>Indian Office Map</i>
Prairie de Sacki.....	Prairie des Sakias Sakia Prairie
R. du Feu.....	(river unnamed)
Prairie du Feu.....	Prairie du
R. de l'Eau bleue	l'Eau bleu blue water River
R. des Kancés.....	Riviere des Kances Kances River
Petite Riviere Platte.....	petite Riv. platte little Shoal River
J. de Parc.....	Isles des Parques Field Islands
1 ^{er} Ancien village des Kances.....	premier ant ^e village des Kances first old vill of the Kances
Wasabi Wachanda.....	
2 ^e Ancien village des Kances.....	2 nd vieux village Kances 2 ^d old village of the Kances
Prairie St Michel.....	Prairie de St Michel St Michael's Prairie
Riviere Madavvay.....	Riv. Nadawa Mandan River
R. du Loup.....	R. des Loups Wolf River
.....	R. Taquio Taquio River
R. Grand Nimakas.....	R. grand Ni Maha Big Nimaha River
J. St Joseph.....	Isle St Joseph St Joseph's Island
R. Nichinibatone.....	R. & Chanaille de baton Cane River & Channel
R. Petit Nimakas.....	petit R. Nimaha little Riv ^r of the Nimaha
J. Achoven.....	Isle Chauvin Chavin's Island
l'eau qua pleure.....	R. Eau qui pleure weeping water
.....	I. du Tobac Tobacco Island
oeil de fer.....	I. du fer Iron Isl ^d
.....	I. de 5 Barrils five Barrels Island (footnote 64 continued on next page)

⁶⁵ For convenience of reference, it should be observed that the so-called Perrin du Lac map, originally published in connection with Perrin du Lac's "Voyage dans les deux Louisianes et chez les Nations Sauvages du Missouri en 1801, 1802, et 1803," Paris, 1805, has been reprinted in *South Dakota Hist. Collections*, Vol. 7.

in the Jefferson correspondence, may in reality have been the same map that Mackay described as his own. Again, let it be repeated that the Indian Office map satisfies, with one exception, all the Lewis and Clark journal references to both Evans and Mackay. It also illustrates the journals generally and, more important still, it illustrates the Truteau narrative. What Jefferson very probably did was to have a certain map that had come into his possession, maybe through Michaux, and that depicted the Mackay and Evans expedition (for the journeys of the two men were actually parts of a single expedition) copied with particular reference to the needs of Lewis and Clark and its French terminology translated, for their edification, into English. The inexperience of the translator may possibly account for faulty French syntax, for the attempted translation of proper names, and even for the transference of "ancien village des petits arcs" into the very much more natural "Riv. & village des petits os" (River & Village of the Little Osages).

<i>Perrin du Lac Map</i>	<i>Indian Office Map</i>
Per Poste de la Compagnie.....	Premier Poste de la Compagnie du Missouri
du haut Missouri	the first post of the Missouri Company
R. Platte.....	Riv. Platte
.....	Shoal River
.....	R. du Papillion
.....	Butterfly River
.....	Alouah Bluffs
.....	Ecore des Aioas [accore?]
R. a Boyer.....	R. à Boyer
.....	Boyer's River
R. des Soldats.....	R. des Soldats
.....	Soldiers River
Pre R. des Sioux.....	Riv. des Sioux
.....	Sioux River
.....	Ecore des Cedres
.....	red Cedar bluffs
Entrepôt de la compagnie.....	Maha village
village des Mahas	Maha village
R. des Sioux.....	petite Riv. des Sioux
.....	little Sioux River
.....	Riv. à Renville
.....	Renville River
R. a Loutre.....
.....	Cap blanc
.....	White cape
ancien village des petits arcs.....	Riv. & village des petits os
.....	River & village of the little Osages
R. Sague.....	R. a Jacques
.....	James River
.....	I. à Sego
.....	Sego's Island
.....	I. au Sable
.....	Sand Island
.....	I. au bonhomme
.....	good man's Island
.....	village des panis
.....	Panis village
.....	I au Panis
.....	Panis Island
.....	Isle longua
.....	long view Island
.....	Maison de Mr Trudeau
.....	Mr. Trudeau's house
R. qui monte.....
R. l'Eau qui court.....	Riv. qui courre [coure or court?]
.....	Rapid River
R. des Poncas.....	R. des Panis
village des Poncas.....

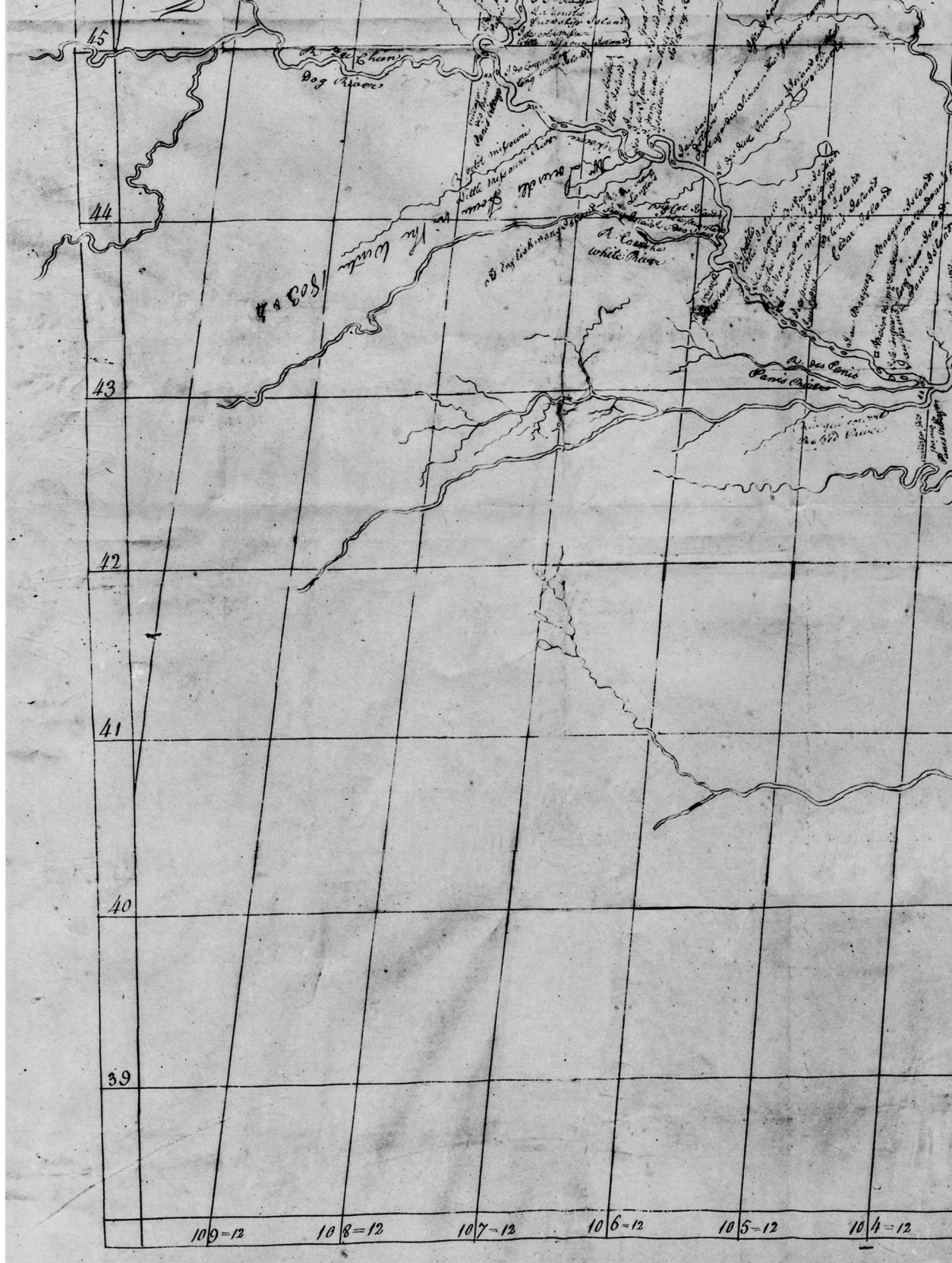
The promised comparison of the Evans map, as we will now designate it, with the second part of the Truteau "Journal," reveals a striking similarity in the matter of place names and in the location of Indian villages, but not more so than does a like comparison with the Perrin du Lac map. There are also some noteworthy discrepancies. In Truteau's "Journal," figure "la prairie du feu," "campe au parc," "nichenanbatonnois." Several Indian villages named in the "Journal" are indicated but not named on the map, in one instance, perhaps, because they were off the route of the Lewis and Clark expedition. In the matter of the various Sioux rivers, the "Journal" more nearly corresponds with the Perrin du Lac map than with the Evans. There are three such rivers on the Evans map, the "Riv. des Sious," the Little Sioux of today, the "Petite Riv. des Sioux," the Floyd

<i>Perrin du Lac Map</i>	<i>Indian Office Map</i>
J. des Basques.....	I. au Basques Basque Island
Second Poste de la Compagnie.....	
J. de Cedre.....	I. au Cedres Cedar Island
J. a Pierre.....	I. de periche Peter's Island
.....	I. au vase Muddy Island
.....	I. Bon Good Island
.....	Quatre Isle the 4 Islands
J. du Boeuf.....	I. au boeuf Buffaloe Island
J. de Pâte.....	I. petite little Island
.....	Viau (?) Volcano old Volcano
R. Blanche.....	R. blanche White River
.....	Sious Island Isle des Sious
.....	I. bete puante pole Cat Island
.....	I. des deux Rivieres Island of the two Rivers
.....	Portage des Sious The Sioux carrying place
.....	R. du vieux Langlois old Englishmans Island
.....	I au bas de grande Island below the big bend
Grand detour.....	
.....	I. solitaire Solitary Island
.....	I. demi-lune half-moon Island
.....	I. de 3 Soeurs Island of the three Sisters
.....	I au Cabris Goat Island
.....	Mr Louisells House in the Winter 1803&4
.....	I au biche Elk Island
R. de Cheyenne.....	R. petit Missouri Little Missouri River
.....	I de longue vue long view Island
Ancien village de Ricaras.....	village des Panis Panis Village
R. de Chaguyenne.....	R. du Chien Dog River

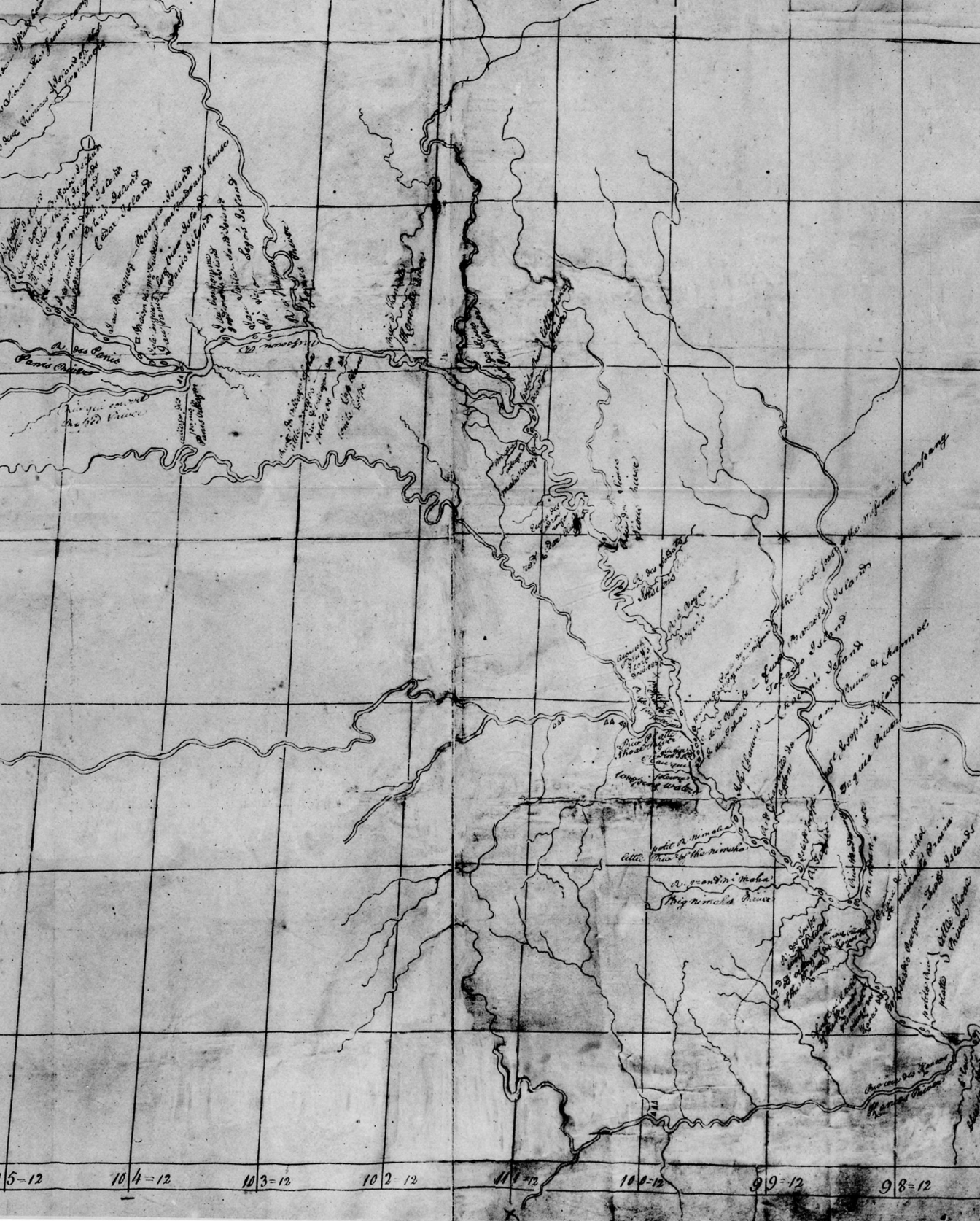


[illegible]

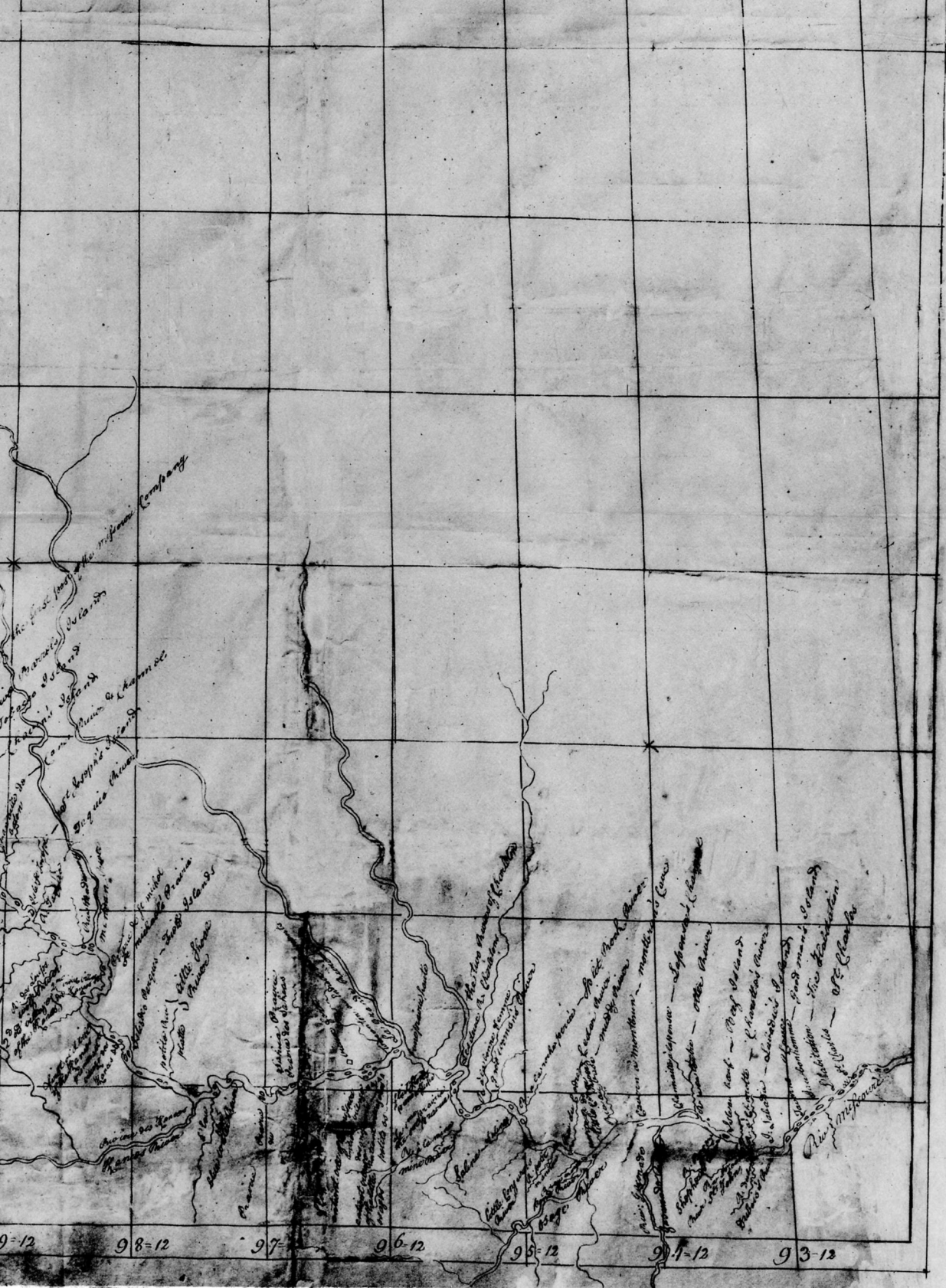




This manuscript map of the Missouri River from St. Charles, Mo., near its mouth, to above the Mandan and Arikara villages, was found among old files in the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D. C. It is probably a copy of a map made by Meriwether Lewis in a letter dated January 13, 1804, prior to Lewis and Clark's departure on their expedition of 1804-1806, which it may be a copy, was presumably compiled in 1795 or 1796 by John Evans, a Welshman in the employ of the British Government.



The map from which this photograph was taken measures 28¾ inches and is on a scale of 1:1,630,000. From time to time the map has been folded and the folds and creases have been obliterated in order to bring out the



photograph was taken measures along the outer border of the drawing $37\frac{1}{2}$ inches (top ; bottom, $36\frac{1}{2}$ inches) scale of 1:1,630,000. From the present reproduction, which is on a scale of 1:3,670,000, a number of stains in order to bring out the lettering more clearly. In other respects than this it is a facsimile.

of today, and "Riv. des Sious," the Big Sioux. Incidentally, Truteau remarks that there were a number of islands in the near neighborhood of the "Missouri Blanche" (White River), and such there are on the Evans map.

In recapitulation, it might be advisable to call attention again to the circumstance, so exceedingly consequential, that on the Indian Office map we find Mackay's "old french fort," his particular "river Souix," and his "old Vulcanoe." We also find Evans' "Little Missouri," his "Carp Island," but, unfortunately not his "remarkable places." We do have, however, definitely located for us, Truteau's ["Trudeau's"] House.

All these things bear witness to the great historical value of the Indian Office map, for, even if it should not be the original map sent by Jefferson to Lewis, it is the most detailed primary source for geographical knowledge of the Missouri River country that has yet been forthcoming. There is a bare possibility that it was made by or under the direction of Lewis and Clark themselves before they started up the Missouri, being to them a composite itinerary map.